

Message Text

SECRET

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ORIGIN NODS-00

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DRAFTED BY EA:RHOLBROOKE:RK
APPROVED BY EA:RHOLBROOKE
S/S- JETHYDEN
NSC-MOKSENBERG (BY PHONE)
DESIRED DISTRIBUTION
WHITE HOUSE FOR BRZEZINSKI AND OKSENBERG

-----069075 130238Z /65

O 130224Z SEP 77 ZFF6
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USLO PEKING IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY TAIPEI IMMEDIATE
WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 218558

NODIS
EYES ONLY FOR SULLIVAN FROM HOLBROOKE

E.O. 11652: XGDS

TAGS: PINS, CH

SUBJECT:CONVERSATION WITH HAN HSU RE BREACH OF CONFIDEN-
TIALITY
FOLLOWING THE SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH THE CCPIT, MIKE
OKSENBERG AND I HAD AN INFORMAL CONVERSATION WITH HAN HSU
WHO WAS ACCOMPANIED BY CHIEN TA-YUNG AND THE INTERPRETER,
HSU HSANG-WEI.

I BEGAN BY SAYING THAT I WANTED TO TALK INFORMALLY AND
IN THE SPIRIT OF FRANKNESS WHICH HAS CHARACTERIZED THE
SECRETARY'S TRIP TO PEKING. I SAID THAT AS THE CHINESE
GOVERNMENT KNEW, FOLLOWING THE TRIP TO PEKING THERE WERE
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SOME AMERICAN NEWSPAPER STORIES SPECULATING ON OUR TRIP AND
WHAT HAD BEEN DISCUSSED THERE. THESE STORIES HAD NOT BEEN
BASED ON DISCUSSIONS WITH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND BECAUSE
WE WERE CONCERNED ABOUT THEM AND BECAUSE THEY CONTAINED
INACCURACIES, THEY WERE PROMPTLY AND CATAGORICALLY DENIED
BY THE WHITE HOUSE. THIS DENIAL WAS BROUGHT TO THE ATTEN-
TION OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT BY AMBASSADOR WOODCOCK.

WE HAVE NOW NOTED THAT THE VICE PRIME MINISTER MADE CERTAIN REMARKS TO AMERICAN JOURNALISTS RECENTLY WHICH DEALT WITH SPECIFIC DETAILS OF OUR CONFIDENTIAL DISCUSSIONS. THIS, IT SEEMED TO ME, WAS NOT HELPFUL. ALTHOUGH OUR GOVERNMENT HAS OFTEN HAD DIFFICULTY KEEPING SECRETS, WE

HAVE NOT AND DO NOT INTEND TO DISCUSS ANY ASPECT OF OUR CONFIDENTIAL DISCUSSIONS WITH THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT.

IN FACT, THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE AUTHORIZED BY THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY TO WORK ON THESE MATTERS WAS EXTREMELY LIMITED -- UNDER 10.

WE WANT TO STRESS THE IMPORTANCE, THEREFORE, OF MAINTAINING CONFIDENTIALITY AND REAFFIRM OUR INTENTION TO DO SO. OKSENBERG STRESSED THAT HE AGREED WITH MY PRESENTATION AND ASKED WHETHER OUR CONVERSATIONS COULD PROCEED WITH THE SAME DEGREE OF FRANKNESS IF WE BEGAN TO RISK PUBLIC DISCLOSURE OF OUR PRESENTATION.

HAN HSU RESPONDED AS THOUGH HE WAS CLEARLY EXPECTING THIS SUBJECT TO BE RAISED. HE SAID THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR THE CHINESE TO EXPLAIN THEIR POINT OF VIEW TO INFLUENCE OPINION. I ASKED WHAT OPINION - AMERICAN, CHINESE OR WORLDWIDE. CHIEN TA-YUNG ANSWERED, "WORLDWIDE."

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MIKE OKSENBERG SAID THAT HE AGREED THAT THE CHINESE HAD A RIGHT TO EXPLAIN THEIR POINT OF VIEW AND FURTHERMORE, HE WANTED TO STRESS THAT WE WERE NOT SUGGESTING THEY SHOULD CEASE SEEING AMERICAN VISITORS INCLUDING JOURNALISTS. IN FACT, SUCH CONTACTS WERE IMPORTANT. OKSENBERG ALSO SAID THAT THE SECRETARY'S TRIP TO PEKING HAD BEEN A PRODUCTIVE AND USEFUL ONE AND THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT THING WAS TO BUILD ON THE BASE OF THAT TRIP FOR FUTURE GOOD US-CHINESE RELATIONS.

I CONCURRED IN OKSENBERG'S LAST POINT, SAYING THAT WE DID NOT WISH TO MAKE TOO BIG A THING OF THIS ISSUE BUT THAT WE WERE CONCERNED THAT WE CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN CONFIDENTIALITY OF COMMUNICATIONS. I REFERRED BRIEFLY TO THE EARLIER COMPLAINTS ABOUT NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLES ON CLAIMS/ASSETS AND POINTED OUT THAT WE HAD NOT BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR THESE ARTICLES WHICH WE BOTH KNEW HAD BEEN INACCURATE. HAN HSU SAID THAT WE WERE WRONG TO COMPARE CLAIMS/ASSETS, WHICH WAS A PETTY ISSUE, WITH NORMALIZATION, WHICH WAS A VERY IMPORTANT ISSUE. HE SAID AGAIN THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT HAD A RIGHT TO MAKE ITS POSITION KNOWN.

I SAID THAT BOTH SIDES HAD A RIGHT TO MAKE THEIR POSITION KNOWN AND WE CERTAINLY UNDERSTOOD THAT THE CHINESE WOULD CONTINUE TO STRESS THEIR THREE CONDITIONS FOR NORMALIZATION. THIS, HOWEVER, WAS DIFFERENT FROM DISCUSSING IN PUBLIC THE DETAILS OF PROPOSALS PUT FORWARD BY ANOTHER COUNTRY IN CONFIDENTIALITY. FURTHERMORE, I NOTED

(BUT ONLY LIGHTLY IN PASSING) THERE WERE CERTAIN INACCURACIES IN THE CHARACTERIZATIONS.

OKSENBERG AND I THEN RETURNED AGAIN TO THE BASIC THEME THAT THE TRIP HAD BEEN A GOOD STARTING POINT UNDER THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE AND THAT WE HOPED TO SEE CONTINUED
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DISCUSSIONS IN THE FUTURE - PERHAPS IN NEW YORK DURING UNGA.

COMMENT:

THE TONE OF THE MEETING CAN PROBABLY BEST BE CHARACTERIZED AS "ANOTHER FRANK EXCHANGE AMONG FRIENDS." WE WERE CAREFUL NOT TO TELL HAN HSU THAT WE WERE SPEAKING ON BEHALF OF ANY HIGHER OFFICIAL. WE FELT THAT, ALTHOUGH EXPECTING THIS ISSUE TO BE RAISED, THEY ALSO DID NOT TRY TO COUNTER ATTACK. VANCE

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